

The Political Situation

ABLY REVIEWED IN A

COMPREHENSIVE SPEECH

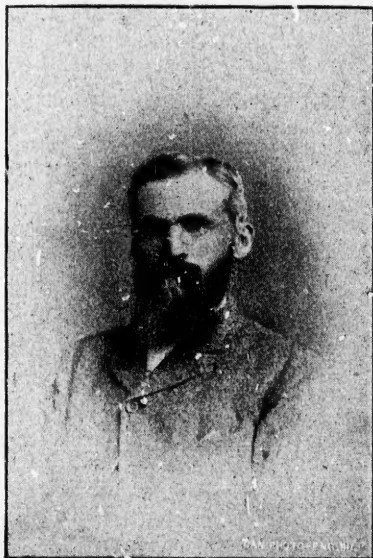
DELIVERED AT



New

Westminster,

—ON—



May the 19th,

1894,

—BY—



J. C. BROWN, M. P. P.

From "Daily Columbian," May 21.

NEW WESTMINSTER:

Printed by Fred. Jackson, "Columbian" Building.

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The immense gathering of electors that taxed the utmost limit of the Opera House, Saturday night, attested not only to Mr. J. C. Brown's popularity, but displayed in a striking manner the regret so generally expressed that that gentleman was compelled to retire from Parliamentary life on the eve of the victory for which he had so long and valiantly struggled. The demonstration was a magnificent triumph for Mr. Brown—an expression of public approval of which any man in any country might justly be proud.

Considering the unfavorable state of the weather and the fact that Saturday night being the busiest of the week many business men were prevented from attending, the turnout was the more astonishing. The building was packed to the doors, and scores were obliged to stand in the aisles during the whole evening. Between 1,000 and 1,200 people were present, among whom were a number of ladies.

Except Mr. Brown, the only speaker to address the meeting at length was Mr. F. C. Cotton, M. P. P., senior member for Vancouver, who made a splendid impression, and the fulfilment of his promise to return at an early date, and

address the electors on the political issues of the day, will be looked forward to with interest and pleasure. The tumultuous and all but universal applause of this vast assemblage of electors which greeted the first appearance on the platform of our next member, Mr. J. B. Kennedy, must have dispelled any last remaining doubts in the minds of members of the Government party present that Mr. Kennedy's election is a foregone conclusion.

A few minutes after 8 o'clock, Dr. Cooper, who, by the way, made an ideal chairman, called the meeting to order. On the platform were Messrs. J. C. Brown, F. C. Cotton, Thos. E. Kitchen, C. B. Sword and Thos. Forster, M. P. P.'s, Messrs. H. O. Bell-Irving, Wm. Templeton and R. McPherson, Vancouver; Major-General Kinchant, Hatzic Prairie, and Messrs. J. B. Kennedy, J. A. Forin, John Reid, Sergt.-Major McMurphy, E. M. N. Woods, A. C. Brydone-Jack, A. W. Ross, and A. E. Rand.

Dr. Cooper, in calling the meeting to order, said he was pleased to see so many present, and he hoped good order would be maintained. The audience knew what they had come for. "We have had a war-horse in the field," continued the doctor, "who has been trying for some time to stem the stampede that has been made for the destruction of the country and the ruin of all classes except the monopolizing classes. (Applause.) We are present this evening to give Mr. Brown an opportunity of

speaking on his own record, and, if any of you have anything to charge him with, you had better do so now, as he will soon be out of the business. We have assembled to bestow on Mr. Brown a mark of our appreciation of his services and it is only right that they should be recognized. [Cheers.] Without taking up more time, I will call upon Mr. Forin to perform his share of the proceedings." [Applause.]

Presenting the Address.

Mr. J. A. Forin stepped to the front of the platform amid general applause and said: "I am not a hero worshipper in matters political. It is better usually to keep the personnel of our representatives in the background and centre our thought around principles. These are what affect the people at large. I do not think Mr. Brown is infallible, and I do not agree with every step he has taken. Mr. Brown has made mistakes—but who has not? Mr. Brown left his office and fireside to battle for better legislation; he did not go to better his position or seek ease, but he went to ask and work for necessary reforms. We as a constituency have a perfect right to ask for what is just, even if we are in Opposition [applause], and no good Government would withhold what is our due. We all admire the plucky fight Mr. Brown has made. [Applause.] He has been a hard and conscientious worker, both in civic and political affairs, and in retiring to private life is entitled to the thanks of the people of Westminster." In conclusion, Mr. Forin asked the electors to support the Opposition candidate, and turning to Mr. Brown begged to present him with the following address, which he read:

To John C. Brown, Esquire, Representative of the City of New Westminster in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia.

SIR—On behalf of the citizens of New Westminster who have seen and appreciated your disinterested efforts for the promotion of good government and your unwavering integrity under all circumstances, we, as a committee authorized by and representing them, desire to convey to you an expression of the deep regret caused by the announcement that you have decided not to come before this constituency as a candidate in the approaching general election.

In order to record, to some extent, their and our appreciation, we have caused to be engrossed on this scroll a reference to those acts in your public career which are fraught with

the most important consequences and which specially call for approval.

Your energetic opposition to the Parliament Buildings Act, while not immediately successful, has had and will have an incalculable effect on the future of the Province in helping to open the eyes of the electors to the imprudent and sectional policy of their present rulers.

Your steady support of all temperance and moral legislation has gained for you the enduring regard of your fellow countrymen.

Your persistent efforts for a just and equal representation of all parts of the Province in the Legislative assembly have assisted largely in bringing about an improvement in this respect, though the Government of the day has only reluctantly and after determined pressure by yourself and colleagues, accorded what it could not longer withhold.

These efforts have also conducted to the existing good prospect that, in the near future, a measure of redistribution will be introduced by a party representing public sentiment which will permanently establish the principles you have so ably advocated.

Your prompt and effective exposure of the many extravagant and ruinous acts of the Government and your constant opposition to its attempts to create and foster monopolies, both of a public and private nature, have materially contributed, through the information thus given, to arouse toward it the recent widespread and positive expression of disapprobation throughout the country.

As the struggle for just and equalizing legislative enactments, so valiantly inaugurated, approaches a victorious consummation, and the dawn of a better autonomy breaks upon our vision, we do not forget the work of those who have laid the foundation of ultimate success, and we offer you this testimonial as a mark of the continued esteem in which you are held by your fellow countrymen.

MR. BROWN'S SPEECH.

When the hurricane of cheers and applause which followed the presentation and acceptance of the address had subsided, Mr. Brown began his reply. After a few words of cordial thanks for the address which had been presented to him, which, he said, was the culminating point of the kindness with which his constituents had always treated him, he said that, although the matter was no news now, he felt that he should make mention of the reason of his retirement from active political life. When he announced that retirement at a committee meeting some time ago, he had not felt at liberty to read the letter which he had received from the Postmaster-General, but, as it had been printed by an Ottawa correspondent of a Provincial paper, there could be no

barm in his doing so now. After reading the letter, Mr. Brown said they would see that it was written in a very kind and courteous way, and, as he had said on the former occasion, the new regulation could not be called an unreasonable one. It put him in a different position from that which he had occupied before; but every man who was in the service of a company even—to say nothing of a government—must be prepared to expect some changes of the sort from time to time. He had no intention of exposing his private affairs to malevolent criticism—and must, therefore, content himself with asking his friends to believe that, in withdrawing, he had taken the course which was dictated by duty. They would observe that, in the letter which he had read to them, there was no attempt at dictation—no hint of limiting his rights as a citizen—simply an objection to his occupying an office which made it necessary for him to delegate to another, for a considerable part of the year, the actual personal supervision of his departmental work.

Lien Law, Land Reform, Etc.

In giving an account of his stewardship, as it was termed, he would endeavor as far as he could to avoid being tedious. And he wished to say that he would speak of the public acts of public men. Personal abuse—sneers and slander about private affairs, and all that sort of thing—he left to those who were compelled to resort to it for lack of better material. He did not know that he had as a steward had much in his keeping, as things had turned out, beyond the honor of the city, and, although his hearers must be the judges, he was not afraid to say that he had kept that untarnished. He thought he might also say that he had done his best to fulfil his election pledges. When a candidate for election, four years ago, he had promised to do what he could towards putting on the statute book a good Mechanics' Lien Law, and as soon as elected he had entered upon the subject and drafted an Act which was law to-day. He had been told that the law was unworkable, but he could only say that he had taken the advice of prominent legal men and also of men who had worked under such laws and understood

them, and no amendments had been suggested so far. This Act, as they knew, was carried against the fierce opposition of the present Prime Minister.

Another promise was that he would work for land law reform, and the work he had done in this direction had earned him a large amount of abuse. As they all knew, the selling of public lands had been stopped—at least to a certain extent—and a special tax had been put upon land held for speculation. In this direction, a private member of the House, no matter which side he sat on, could only argue and suggest—nor could he do even that, unless the Government brought the matter up. It had been brought up on several occasions, and he thought it would not be denied that the pressure brought to bear by the Independents and Opposition—backed as they had been by public opinion—had had a great deal to do with the reform of the laws, as far as it had gone; he was free to say that, in his opinion, it had not yet gone far enough.

It seemed to him impossible to overestimate the importance of this land question. Only the other day, he had found this in the *Colonist*:

Australia has ceased to be "the poor man's paradise." Times are bad in all the colonies of the continent, but the depression in Victoria appears to be the deepest and most discouraging. "The state of depression," says the *Sydney Telegraph*, "which prevails throughout the whole of the southern colony is unexampled. In the agricultural districts employment is not obtainable at any price, and the universal discontent of the farmers finds free expression, in spite of the efforts of the Government to propitiate them with beet and butter bonuses and the establishment of produce agencies in London. . . . In every important centre of population within the province the resources of benevolent bodies have been taxed to the utmost, and nowhere have they been able to meet the requirements of the occasion."

And it seemed but the other day, continued Mr. Brown, that people of all nations were pouring into the United States, which was considered a poor man's paradise—and to-day we had Coxey and his army! The course which these countries ran we were running very rapidly. As land became monopolized, the chances for the poor man became less and less. As his audience knew, the Province was making very little progress in agricultural settlement. Men came here, anxious to make their homes among us, and they move

on to other countries because we have nothing to offer them in the way of land upon which they can make a living, and which they can obtain at a reasonable price—and yet we are sending from two and a half to three millions out of the country every year for food stuffs which could be raised here on our tens of thousands of acres of fertile land, which is lying unused. Is it any wonder that times are hard? (Applause.)

He had also declared himself in favor of the restriction of Chinese immigration, and they knew the stand he had taken on the subject. The question presented serious difficulties, and it was one, unfortunately, which readily lent itself to the vote-catching politician and his tricks. He looked upon the restrictive clauses put into certain Acts during last session as one of the most important steps in advance in this matter during the whole of the present Parliament.

The Redistribution Question.

Another matter—the thing that had been, indeed, of the very essence of politics at the last election—was redistribution. He confessed his surprise to hear men in this part of the country professing themselves satisfied with what they had got in this matter. The proportion all over the Province was about one member to two thousand population, but everyone agreed that the upper country constituencies were entitled to larger representation than this would give them. That being allowed, it followed that other parts of the Province must have a less proportionate representation, and had that rule been applied to all the lower country—Island as well as Mainland—the redistribution would have been fair, as far as that was concerned. But as it was, the Island had been given the undiminished Provincial proportion of a member for two thousand, while the lower Mainland had to put up with a member for three thousand or over. When examined, the boasted fairness of the division between Island and Mainland, turned out to be only a smart trick to rob this part of the country of its just voice in legislation—he said this in no sectional spirit, there were hundreds of good men on the Island—but, in his view, a Government that perpetrated tricks of that sort was unworthy of support. He would say nothing

about broken promises and delays in this matter. That was an old story, which his hearers knew as well as he did. As to details, they all knew what a hotch-potch the Act was. Mr. Brown here gave a few instances of the irregularities of the arrangement.

Not a Straight Government.

Another thing, Mr. Brown said, which he had promised was that he would be found a supporter of a straight Government. He was sorry to say that he had not had a chance to fulfil that promise. Before a man could support a straight Government, there must be a straight Government to support. A Government might fail to be straight, and yet be honest as far as overt acts went. A straight Government was one which governed in the interests of the people—and that was what the present Government had entirely failed to do. "Failed" was not the right word, for the fact was that they had not tried to do it. The autocratic tricks which they attempted to play in school and municipal legislation—to give just two familiar instances—showed what spirit they were of. In these and other matters they had been compelled to back down, but the retreat was a forced one, and was not carried out with a good grace. Then such schemes as the Crofter Deep Sea business—the Canada Western—the Nakusp-Slocan—to say nothing of the Parliament buildings matter—indicated ideas about the administration of the affairs of the country which stamped this Government as essentially a bad one for the Province and the mass of its people, although there were some individuals who found the Government good enough for them. (Applause.)

He and his friends in the House had been roundly abused in certain quarters, but he had the knowledge that their actions were approved by the bulk of the people, as the coming elections would show. He confessed that the abuse had troubled him very little, nor did he mean to say much about it now. There was one point that was worth noticing, if only to laugh at it. He would read a statement from one of the Government organs:

The House has been prorogued after sitting within one week of three months, and now we wonder what excuse the Oppositionists will give to the electors for their continued oppo-

sition to every piece of legislation that was brought in by the Government, no matter how beneficial it might be to the people.

The statement was decidedly "inclusive." "Continued opposition to every piece of legislation" did not leave much of a loophole. Now turn to another Government organ—the *Colonist*—of the 30th of March, and on the last page this would be found: "Hon. Mr. Davie complimented the hon. member for Westminster City for doing the Government the justice of supporting it in an admittedly good measure, and for having given valuable assistance in connection with the bill." And again, in the *Colonist* of the 13th March, Mr. Davie is reported as saying of an important Act of a former session of this Parliament that it "passed the House without division, unanimously." Mr. Brown said he was perfectly indifferent alike to praise or blame from this source, but it was worth while to make these quotations just to show how these good folks contradicted themselves. Before leaving the subject, he might point out the difference in this matter between the parties. The Opposition criticized the public acts and utterances of the Government, giving details, and pointing out the objectionable things, while the Government and their organs merely abused their opponents personally, or made unsupported general statements—the difference was very significant. His feeling for the organs was only one of pity; they had sold themselves for a mere mess of pottage, and now, with the spoon rattling upon the bottom of the dish, and the last spoonful in sight, their desperation and despair were pitiful to behold. (Laughter and applause.)

It had been charged, continued Mr. Brown, that he had done nothing for the city. In the opinion of the men who made that charge, the opposing of bad measures and the promotion of good ones was "nothing." If a man was not a successful grabber, he was of no account. Well, he had not been very successful as a grabber—he admitted that, but, all the same, he thought the city had not been so very badly left, all things considered. He had never failed to urge any proper claim either for the city as a whole, or for any constituent, where his help had been sought. There was an inside history to this business

which it was not worth while to go into now, as he was out of politics, but he might say that he had very early found that argument and reason were very blunt weapons, indeed, down at James Bay. To go back to his first session, the Government had promised to himself and to the City Solicitor, to pass the celebrated "Enabling Bill," but certain influences had induced them to change their view—so they deliberately broke that promise, and excused themselves on the ground that he, Mr. Brown, had refused to oblige them by betraying his constituents and selling his vote on the Cool Mines Regulation Bill. However, he and his associates had put brains against brute force in the matter of the essence of the Enabling Bill, and "got there" without any thanks to the Government. He would not attempt to go into detail in the matter, but he had certainly had the satisfaction of seeing certain things done for the city which he had urged, and, if he had had to stand by and see some things which had been refused to him granted on the request of various deputations, he had at least the satisfaction of feeling that his constituents supported him in refusing to pay the base price demanded for some of such concessions. (Loud applause.)

As he had always been proud to be able to speak of his constituency as a "Provincial" one—that was, one composed of voters who thought more of the rights of the whole Province and its people than of any little selfish advantage, and who thought much more of their rights as freemen than of the grab game, he felt that the giving of an account of his stewardship should to a great extent resolve itself into a statement of the things which had led to his conviction that this was not a straight Government, and that, therefore, he should oppose it. He had alluded to some of these already. In their school and municipal legislation, and in dealing with many of the schemes embodied in private bills, the Government had shown that their attitude of mind was one of contempt for and distrust of the people. It was quite evident, too, that they had their pets, and that one company might ask in vain for privileges which would be readily granted to another. It was true that, in 1891, he had been able to

support the then leader of the Government strongly in some things. He was sorry to say, however, that the present leader had busied himself in pulling down a good deal of what had been built up then, in the line of temperance, or rather civilized, legislation. Whatever attitude the average man might assume on strictly temperance questions, everybody agreed that a good deal of restriction was called for in the interests of the community. The present Premier had been active in knocking out these restrictions. Even in this last session—although restrained somewhat by the dangerous nearness of the elections—Mr. Davie had been busy and aggressive in this direction. These and other things, Mr. Brown said, had pushed him further and further from the Government, until the Crofter scheme, the Canada Western scheme, the census juggle, the Parliament buildings, and the Nakusp-Slocan—not to mention minor matters—had thrown him into straight opposition; had convinced him that the only way to reorganize this Government was the way Paddy adopted to repair his gun—that is, give it a new lock, a new stock, and a new barrel. (Laughter and applause.)

Parliament Buildings Extravagance.

On one or two of the leading questions of the last and previous sessions, Mr. Brown continued, he thought it due both to himself and to his constituents, to enter into detail, and first he would take the Parliament buildings. Putting the work not yet contracted for—heating and lighting fixtures, furniture, laying out grounds, and extras on contracts let and to be let, at the extremely moderate figure of \$150,000, the cost of the celebrated “anchor” to the Province, he showed, will be as follows:

Plans and preparatory work	\$ 16,503 75
Contracts let and extras allowed	630,219 75
Land expropriated to adapt grounds to building	56,206 00

Total	\$702,929 50
Add estimate for work yet to be put under contract	150,000 00

Making total for work, &c., \$852,929 50

And he had it on good authority that the quantities were reduced in the specifications, so that the contract price should be as low as possible. This, of course, meant a very big bill for extras.

But this was not all. The “shave” on the \$600,000 loan amounted to nearly \$78,000. In other words, while the Province went into debt to the amount of \$599,945, all the cash it got was \$522,082.38, so that we had yet to raise net cash to the amount of at least \$330,847.12, to finish the job, and, at the rate on the other loan, this would cost \$40,000. We had, then, to incur a further debt of \$370,000 in round numbers, which, added to the \$600,000, would bring the cost of the undertaking to \$970,000. This was figuring very moderately, and the Province would be well off if it got the thing off its hands for a round million, or, say, an annual charge of \$40,000 for 50 years. It might be of interest to compare these figures with the positive assertions made by the Premier, in his speeches last year, that the total cost of the undertaking would not exceed the \$600,000 voted. (Tremendous applause.)

Govt.'s Financial Juggling Exposed.

Mr. Davie, continued the speaker, was fond of talking finance when he addressed the “faithful.” As a man of his large and wide and lofty views could not be expected to descend to such commonplace and vulgar things as details, he (Mr. Brown) proposed to do it for him. Mr. Davie's utterances were to the effect that the net debt of the Province was something like \$2,000,000, and then he exclaims that that is less than the net debt of some of our cities. Then he talks about the great genius displayed by his Minister of Finance in getting money at 3½ per cent. or thereabouts, and so he sends his audience away with a happy feeling that we are only liable as a Province for interest at 3½ per cent. on a trifle of \$2,000,000. Unfortunately, however, for the comfort of the “faithful,” there were in existence certain official documents known as “estimates,” and, although they were Government papers, they flatly refused to bear out the too flattering tale of the leader of the Government. Here is what the estimates said:

Charges on public debt, as per estimates—

Session of 1890, estimates	\$ 135,831 55
(supplementary for 1889)	1,352 64
Session of 1891, estimates	137,331 55
(supplementary for 1889-90)	64 37

Session of 1892, estimates.....	178,271 55
" " (supple-	
mentary for 1892).....	82,000 40
Session of 1892, estimates (supple-	
mentary for 1890-91).....	593 72
Session of 1893, estimates.....	155,450 95
" " (supple-	
mentary for 1892-93).....	15,000 00
Session of 1893, estimates (supple-	
mentary for 1891-92).....	141,180 12
Session of 1894, estimates.....	187,400 80
" " (supple-	
mentary for 1893-94).....	74,049 27
Session of 1894, estimates (supple-	
mentary for 1892-93).....	704 36
Total charges for public debt,	
5 years.....	\$1,109,231 28

Of course, this included all the "shaves," but it was all cash for which the Province was responsible. In the language of the committee of supply, it had all been "granted to Her Majesty to defray the expense of public debt." If we divided it by five, we would find that it came very close to \$222,000 a year, which, with all due deference to Mr. Davie's financial ability, was a trifle more than three and one-half per cent. upon a debt of \$2,000,000. In fact, most people would be glad to pay ten per cent. on \$2,000,000 out of it, on condition that they could keep the balance. [Loud applause.]

The next point was revenue, and here Mr. Brown held up a Government campaign dodger, headed "The Revenue Does Expand," from which he proceeded to read a quotation from one of his own speeches in the House showing that the revenue was falling, and, after this quotation, he read from the Government dodger what was called, in that document, "the Finance Minister's reply." Would it surprise the meeting, continued Mr. Brown, to be told that that "reply" of the Finance Minister's was delivered first, and that his (Mr. Brown's) speech, from which the quotation was made in the dodger, had been delivered in the House, in reply to the Finance Minister! (The audience, of course, saw the point, and was literally convulsed with laughter and applause for several minutes.) A trick like that might be a small thing, continued Mr. Brown (it, undoubtedly, was, in more senses than one), but it illustrated very well the dishonesty, misrepresentation, and utter unreliability of all the Government's campaign documents and utterances. (Renewed laughter and prolonged applause.)

Mr. Brown then quoted further, from the dodger, a statement showing the revenue for the last seven years, in attempted proof that "the revenue does expand." He had never denied that the revenue had expanded. About seven years ago, the Province had received the great impetus of connection with the outside world by the C. P. R., and the advertisement which that had given it, and had gone up, up, up, in population and the wealth thus accruing, for a few years, like a rocket; but, handicapped as by a dead weight with a Government that, by its policy, encouraged only pet rings and monopolies, and slammed the door in the face of independent capital and free, industrious settlement, the upward progress of the Province was soon stayed, and then reversed, and now, with this same weight hanging on, it was going down, down, down! [Loud applause.] Taking the revenue figures quoted by the Government dodger, on their face, continued Mr. Brown, they showed that the revenue was falling—that there was less revenue by about \$8,000 for the fiscal year 1892-93 than for the year 1891-92. When the details were looked into, it was found that the actual practical decrease was \$32,000, as in the 1892-93 revenue there was included an item of \$10,000 additional interest on borrowed money lying in bank, and \$14,000 of an increase from Chinese immigration head money! No one could say that either of these items showed a legitimate increase of revenue, or one on which the Province could be congratulated. [Tremendous applause.]

The public accounts for the current year—1893-94—were, of course, not yet down, continued Mr. Brown, but the indications showed a still falling revenue. Proceeding, said Mr. Brown: "If you take the estimates presented to the House this year, you will find that the revenue for the next financial year is put at about \$119,000 more than the estimated revenue of the current year. But examine a little more closely, and you will find a lump sum of \$130,000 of borrowed money is included in the estimates for next year. Now, when you take \$130,000 from \$119,000 the bottom is apt to drop out. Then a further examination will show you that about \$40,000 of arrears is also included in the

estimate, \$6,000 of a new tax—so that, when the proper allowances are made, the revenue for next year shrivels up to something like, say, \$50,000 less than the revenue for the current year. Of course, the Government will tell you that this borrowed money and these arrears are quite properly counted as the revenue for the year—an argument which amounts to just this, that everything is all right so long as they can beg, borrow or steal the money to pay for their extravagance. Well, it is not necessary to squabble about that. The point does not depend upon that. The point is that these sums do not come from the natural increase of ordinary sources of Provincial revenue. Take the arrears. Let us illustrate. Suppose a merchant makes out his bills at the first of the month, and finds that they amount to seven thousand dollars. He puts that down as the estimated revenue for that month. But he collects only four thousand. Next month the bills amount to nine thousand, and he puts that down, and three thousand for arrears—revenue for the second month, twelve thousand. He collects altogether five thousand, and the third month's bills are ten thousand. Down it goes again—ten and seven of arrears—revenue for the third month, seventeen thousand, or a total of thirty-six thousand for the three months, while all the cash in the business is twenty-four thousand, and only the half of that is collected. Now you may say that no merchant would be such an ass as to figure in that manner, but I hope you will be careful about your language, for that is just the way our Finance Minister figures. [Laughter and applause.] Now, about the borrowed money, it does not come from Provincial sources—you may say it is properly counted as revenue, if you choose, but that does not alter the fact that you must omit it from any calculation intended to show, by the state of the revenue, the state of the Province in respect to the prosperity or otherwise of its people. A prosperous Province will have a rising revenue—a falling revenue shows that the Province is not prosperous. Now, when we confine our view to the revenue which can be properly counted in such a calculation—omitting, of course, borrowed money and “arrears”

—we find that it is, according to the Finance Minister's calculation, falling. In other words, we find stagnation, if not retrogression, where there should be prosperity.” [Loud and prolonged applause.]

After revenue, it was natural, said the speaker, to turn to expenditure. He could not go exhaustively into the subject, but would endeavor to give them a pointer or two, so that they might judge of the set of the current. While he disputed the statement that the revenue had kept pace with the expenditure, he would show that the expenditure had not been backward about making progress, at all events. The most important item of expenditure in this country was that for reproductive public works—roads, streets, bridges, and wharves, in the language of the estimates. He would give them the figures from the public accounts for seven years, using round numbers:

1886-7	\$185,000
1887-8	180,000
1888-9	153,600
1889-90	205,000
1890-91	186,000
1891-2	308,000
1892-3	283,000

He could not give them the expenditure for the current year, of course, as it did not end till the 30th of June; but the estimates had been about \$214,000. It thus appeared that, although Ministers boasted that the revenue had doubled in seven years, and, although a million had been borrowed for works of development in the meantime, the Government felt itself able to expend on such works, in the current year, only a paltry \$9,000 more than they had expended four years ago. Then take the average before and after the borrowing of that million for works of development. The average expenditure for these works in the five years before the million was borrowed was \$181,000 a year. The average for the three years since was \$267,000 a year. The difference only made about \$258,000 out of the million; but the million was all gone. Where? Perhaps the next statement might throw a little light on the subject. It was a statement of the salary bill for the seven years—that was, the regular Government official salary bill—“soft snaps” like the Board of Health expenditures [laughter], did not appear in it:

1886-7	\$130,000
1887-8	137,000
1888-9	138,000
1889-90	160,000
1890-91	181,000
1891-2	218,000
1892-3	249,000

Before going further, Mr. Brown said, he would read a few extracts from the reports of the Public Accounts Committee, which were official documents. After reading several of the statements made in the reports—relating to the using up by the Government, during the current year, of over a quarter of a million dollars of trust and special funds for general purposes, and other matters—the speaker said his audience would be at no loss to guess the condition of the Provincial treasury, and he proceeded to tell an amusing story about an Irishman and an Englishman with a bottle of “the craythur,” in illustration of the state of matters, the point of which was, if it’s nothing you are looking for, you’ll find it in the treasury. [Laughter and applause.] It would be observed that, in this matter of salaries, there was regular and rapid upward progress. He could not, of course, give the expenditure on account of these salaries for the current year, but the estimated amount was something over \$272,000. As he had already said, this included only the salaries of the gentlemen known as permanent Government officials.

Nakusp-Slocan Scheme Unravelled.

The Nakusp-Slocan matter was then taken up. In discussing this matter, said Mr. Brown, the Government had taken a course which was rather a favorite with them. They used a multitude of words, in order to confuse people. The matter was sufficiently simple for any man to exercise his judgment upon it. He proposed to discuss it under four headings: The difference between the first and second bargains; the statement about cost; the conduct of the Government in the matter; and the policy. As between the two bargains, it had to be borne in mind that it was impossible to tell how the railway would pan out as a commercial enterprise. If it paid, then, of course, the Province was relieved from responsibility. As a matter of fact, the attack made upon the scheme had not been directed to any great extent against the change of plan; but all

the defence was made on that point. This was another favorite dodge of the Government—to ignore the real point of attack, and blaze away about things which were merely incidental. The matter stood thus: The original plan was to guarantee interest *only*, on \$925,000 [\$25,000 per mile]; the present plan was to guarantee both interest and principal on \$647,000 [\$17,500 per mile.] He would give them the actual figures first, and deal with the dishonest handling of them by the Premier, under the third heading. The interest in both cases was four per cent., but under the present plan, a sinking fund of two per cent had also to be paid, making the annual charge, six per cent. on the \$647,000. Against these payments we had the Dominion subsidy, put up in cash by the company, which amounted to \$118,400. The figures, therefore, were:

ORIGINAL PLAN.

Annual interest payment, at 4 per cent., on \$925,000, equal	\$ 37,000
Total liability, \$37,000 a year for 25 years, \$925,000, less Dominion subsidy of \$118,400, equal	806,600

PRESENT PLAN.

Annual payment, interest and sinking fund at 6 per cent., on \$647,000, equal	\$ 38,820
Total liability, \$38,820 a year for 25 years, \$970,500, less Dominion subsidy of \$118,400, equal	852,100

“So that the liability of the Province under the present arrangement,” continued Mr. Brown, “is a matter of \$45,000 greater than under the old or original agreement. We are told, of course, that we have, under the present arrangement, the railway at the end of the term; but, if the railway pays, the Province is relieved from responsibility, and the railway belongs to the company; and, if it does not pay, what value will it be as an asset? It will be a white elephant—and a scabby one at that.

“Now, take the statement about cost. I told them in the House, that the chatter about the cost per mile of railway building put me in mind of the old saying ‘as big as a piece of chalk.’ Many facts enter into the calculation, but the only one necessary to deal with here is, the style of construction—the character of the work done. Built in first class style, a line will cost more, naturally, than it will if it is full of the steepest possible grades, and the sharpest possible curves, and grasshopper trestles,

and shoo-fly side-tracks, and all the rest of it. Now, I have statements from three different sources—and one of them is from an engineer and one from a contractor—that the road ought not to cost more, as they are building it, than from \$12,000 to \$13,000 a mile—or say, to be liberal, \$4,000 a mile less than the amount guaranteed. And it will be seen at once that this is quite natural; because the contractor had to put up in cash the Dominion subsidy of \$3,200 a mile, and he may not get it, as the Dominion Parliament has not granted it yet. Of course, he added it to his contract price.

“Now we come to the conduct of the Government in the matter. In the first place, their duty under the Act bound them to take reasonable means to satisfy themselves as to the cost of the road, and to guarantee interest on that amount only, and not that until they were satisfied that the work would be properly done; but, instead of that, they simply guaranteed to the full extent to which they could go, nor have they to this day done anything in such a way as the Act contemplated to find out what the road should cost or is costing. In the second place, we have the Premier, by his own statement, spending a very considerable time, during which his expenses were charged to the Province, in arranging details about the matter that he had no business in the world to meddle with, as Premier of the Province. In the third place, as everyone knows, the information the Government furnished to the House and the country in the matter was extorted from them bit by bit, under pressure—it was worse than drawing teeth. In the fourth place, while the Premier represented himself one day as running the whole show—being the chief mover in the whole concern—he a few days afterwards answered a long string of important questions about the enterprise by saying ‘I do not know; neither have I enquired.’ In one breath, the utmost indignation if one insinuated that they were not thoroughly posted on the whole affair, so that they knew exactly what they were doing—in the next, a confession of blank ignorance of a number of most important details. In the fifth place, there is the fact that the bargain gives every cent of possible profit to the company, and

every dollar of possible loss to the Province. In the sixth place, we have the absolutely dishonest calculations put before the House and the country by the Premier. He gave in the first part of his speech a statement that the difference was between four per cent. on the larger sum and six per cent. on the smaller, which was correct, but he deducted the amount of the Dominion subsidy from the principal instead of the interest. This was wrong, of course, as the amount is to go towards the payment of interest, and does not reduce the principal sum upon which interest is to be paid. In the case of the four per cent. it makes no difference, as interest and principal are equal, the term being 25 years; but, in the case of the six per cent., it makes a sufficient difference to show the cost as less than that of the other plan, whereas it is in reality more.

“But it is when we come to the second statement—the compound interest business—that the dishonesty of the calculation shines out resplendent. The object is to make the new scheme appear the cheaper one, and so we have a calculation of compound interest on the old scheme at the correct rate of four per cent., and under the new scheme at three and a half! Of course, it should be six. And, when you come to compound interest on something over half a million for twenty-five years, the difference between three and a half and six is worth making a note of. The two per cent. for sinking fund is ignored altogether in the calculation, and the interest is figured down to three and a half, on the plea that the bonds, being in effect, Provincial bonds, will sell over par at four per cent. Well, that remains to be proved; but, if they do go over, who gets the benefit? Here is a pointer on that point. In committee on the bill, Mr. Sword moved an amendment providing that the interest should not be guaranteed at a rate greater than was necessary to realize par. The amendment was lost. Mr. Sword moved another amendment, providing that no more bonds should be issued than sufficient to raise \$17,500 per mile. The amendment was lost.”

Continuing, Mr. Brown said he hoped he had made the point sufficiently plain. What they wanted to remember was, that the real difference between the two

schemes in point of cost was the difference between six per cent. on \$647,000, and four per cent. on \$925,000. And they also wanted to remember that the Government had distinctly, and beyond all question, violated its authority in pledging the Province, in the first place, to a guarantee of four per cent. on \$925,000. [Applause.]

Now, he wanted to say a few words about the compound interest fake. Any business man would tell them that it was utter nonsense and rubbish to talk about compound interest in this case. By ignoring the sinking fund and figuring down the interest to three and a half per cent., instead of four, Mr. Davie had managed to make it appear that the present scheme was a little cheaper than the first one, and then he struck upon the happy idea of figuring it at compound interest, to make the difference look as big as possible. Had he figured honestly in the first place, we should never have heard anything about compound interest, because honest figuring showed the present scheme to involve the greater liability.

But, if it was right to figure this at compound interest, it followed, of course, that all the other liabilities of the Province should be figured, the same way, and he had taken the trouble—or rather a gentleman who was an expert at that sort of thing had taken the trouble for him—to figure out the cost of the Parliament buildings at compound interest. He had already showed that the liability incurred by the Province on account of these buildings would be at least a million, counting everything. Counting that way, you must figure at four per cent. for interest and sinking fund. And the little bill ran up to only a trifle over SEVEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS!!! [Sensation and applause]. “Now,” said Mr. Brown, “the next time you hear a Government man talking any nonsense about compound interest, just shove that little bill at him, and ask him to put that in his pipe and smoke it.” [Renewed applause.]

The policy of the deal could be dismissed in a very few words. If the Province built the road, the Province should own it. If the Province put up the money, the Province should have and exercise the strictest supervision over the expenditure of the money. The

whole thing had been managed in a way that was loose to the point of recklessness.

About the Royal Commission he need not say much. The people had made up their minds about that. One remark he would make, however. He had not asked the question about expenses in the House, but he had caused it to be asked, wishing to have a distinct statement. The answer had been quite clear and explicit—that the opponents of the Government must bear the cost, out of their own pockets, of presenting their case before the Commission. He did not remember the exact words used, but Mr. Davie had laughed at the idea of the Government paying the cost of prosecution—had scouted it as an unheard-of proposition. [Applause.]

Concluding Remarks.

There were many other things, Mr. Brown said, to which he might allude, but he had tried their patience too long already. (Cries of “no, no!” and “Go on!”) He thought he had said enough to account for the stand he had taken—a stand which he felt a large majority of his constituents had endorsed, and would further endorse by sending Mr. Kennedy into the House with an overwhelming majority. [Enthusiastic cheers and cries of “We will; we will.”] It was getting on for thirty years since he had polled his first vote, here in New Westminster, for the candidate of the people against the old Crown Colony Government, and upon the platform on which he had that day taken his stand he had stood ever since and stood yet. [Cheers and applause.] He had been called anarchist, agitator, communist, and what not, and, although it was not pleasant to be pelted with that sort of mud, yet there was this consolation about it, that it marked him off as being at the opposite pole in political thought and political method from the present Government. Mr. Davie had paid him the compliment of calling him his “chief antagonist,” and, while it would be most unfair to his colleagues in the House, who had fought nobly and ably shoulder to shoulder with him for the past four years, were he to assume that title, he certainly could say that in nearly every fight he had made for popular rights he had found Mr. Davie his chief antagonist. [Loud applause.]

Although for a few days or weeks yet, said Mr. Brown in conclusion, with evident emotion, he would be nominally member for New Westminster, the time had come for him to bid them "good-bye" in that capacity. He had only just begun to realize what that meant. Once more he thanked them for all their kindly and indulgent treatment of him during the last four years, and for the splendid proof of their confidence they had given him to-night, and he only wished to leave them one word in conclusion, "MEN OF THE ROYAL CITY, STAND FAST FOR THE RIGHT!"

The applause which burst forth irresistible as Mr. Brown took his seat was a storm, an ovation, a triumph!

SHORT ADDRESS BY MR. COTTON.

When the cheering had subsided, Dr. Cooper rose and said: "Gentlemen, as on previous occasions there have been misrepresentations as to the feeling expressed at our public meetings, if you are in earnest in this mark of appreciation to Mr. Brown, I would ask you to signify it by standing up." Instantaneously the audience broke into tremendous cheering, and a thousand men rose as one. It was fully a minute before the chairman got control of the meeting again, and then he called on Mr. Cotton to speak.

Mr. Cotton, who received a most hearty welcome from the audience, said he came before them with mingled feelings. He was pleased to meet his friends in New Westminster, but regretted that the first occasion on which he addressed them was one at which they were called upon to mark the retirement of his friend and colleague, Mr. Brown, from political life. For himself and fellow members in the House, he could say that they all held Mr. Brown in the highest esteem and fully realized the services which he had rendered as a representative. He did not know where good politicians went to when they left the sphere of their labors—he was not sufficiently versed in political theology—but he believed they still watched with interest the actions of those they left behind, and he thought that Mr. Brown looking down upon them on election day would waive his wings with exul-

tation at the victory they would achieve. [Laughter.] Knowing the good nature and forgiving spirit of their departed friend, he thought that, even in that hour of delight, he would from time to time turn aside and dipping his fingers in water would touch the parched tongues of the Premier and his supporters in that political hades to which the popular votes would consign them. [Uproarious laughter and applause.]

At that late hour he would not attempt to delay them by a long speech, but he would refer to some remarks made by Mr. Davie at a closed meeting in this city a few days ago, which were reported in the Government newspapers. Mr. Davie said he was pleased to see the young men with their "bright, honest faces." Doubtless he thought they would not look so long if they remained in his camp. He quite understood that the Premier preferred those who were not old enough to remember the series of blunders and follies of which he and his predecessors had been guilty. When these young men had got their beards and experience, they would all be found on the other side. At that meeting Mr. Curtis had said it was "time to quit this agitation and drop this nonsense." He [Mr. Cotton] agreed with him. But the "agitation" was caused by Mr. Davie's policy; the nonsense was the Premier's own. Follow the course of events in the short time since Mr. Davie had been Premier, and there was nothing but turmoil and discontent. Section set against section, Mainland against Island, and the Premier rushing around and stirring up strife so that by divisions among the people he might hold on to place and power. They had seen a demand for the division of the Province spring up suddenly as the result of the stupendous series of follies of which Mr. Davie had been guilty. Now he asked for a renewal of their confidence and was lavish in his promises of what he would do. But his future course must be judged by his past actions, and on that method he would be refused his request. [Applause.]

Mr. Cotton then briefly reviewed the various details of the Government's actions which had been so ably dealt with by Mr. Brown. Mr. Davie, Mr.

Cotton said, asked what was the Opposition's policy? The Opposition had a very well defined policy, which they had been carrying into effect, as far as the Government would allow them, for the last four years. It was based on the idea that the prosperity of the Province was dependent on the prosperity of all classes of the people. [Loud applause.] He might fairly ask in reply what was Mr. Davie's policy? The closest scrutiny of his speeches failed to show that he had any. Mr. Davie appeared to have a defect in his political vision. He had a long sight for what Mr. Beaven did twelve years ago, but could see nothing of what had transpired since. In conclusion, he would ask the electors to review the past four years, weigh the actions of the two parties, and cast their ballots accordingly. He had no fear of the result. The people everywhere demanded reforms, and there was no doubt they would place the Opposition in power as soon as the opportunity was afforded them. [Tremendous applause.]

FEW REMARKS BY OTHERS.

Dr. Cooper then rose and announced that, as the hour was late, there would be no more speeches, and added: "But I want you to look at Mr. Kennedy, so that you will know him again."

Mr. J. B. Kennedy came forward, amid a hurricane of cheers and applause, and he was obliged to wait some time before the enthusiastic audience would give him a chance to speak. He would not bore them at that hour, he said, with a long speech. They would have many opportunities of hearing him before election day, but he wished to add his testimony to what had been said regarding Mr. Brown. [Cheers.] At the meeting on Friday night, one of the Government speakers said he [Mr. Kennedy] was to wear Mr. Brown's mantle. He thought, judging from the present meeting, that man must be a prophet or the son of a prophet. [Cheers.] He hoped he would worthily wear the mantle that fell to him. If elected he would work for the best interests of the city and country at large. [Renewed cheering.] He had much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to the chairman.

Mr. Brown seconded the motion, which was put and carried.

The meeting was now supposed to be at an end, but the entire audience kept their seats, and called loudly for Mr. Kitchen, who was finally forced to come forward, and was greeted with ringing cheers.

Mr. Kitchen said it would be very injudicious of him at this late hour to detain the audience longer. He would say, however, that he would be glad to meet Mr. Curtis on the platform in Westminster and discuss politics for an hour or two. [Cheers.] He was very sorry circumstances compelled the retirement of Mr. Brown. He had always found him upright and honest, and a good friend. He was glad that in Mr. Kennedy he would have a colleague with a stiff backbone, and he hoped the people would elect him. [Long continued cheers.]

Mr. Sword was next called for, and responded amid renewed cheering. It was nearly Sunday morning, he said, and time to go home and to bed. He joined with the previous speakers in regretting Mr. Brown's retirement. The feeling was universal throughout the Province, except among a few who feared him politically. [Cheers.]

Mr. Forster was demanded amid further cheering, and added his regrets to those already expressed concerning Mr. Brown, who he said in every matter that had come up seemed to know by instinct the right side, the side of the people. [Great applause.]

Mr. R. McPherson, one of the Opposition candidates for Vancouver, responded to repeated calls, and also came in for a hearty cheer. He would only say with respect to the accusation of the Government that the Opposition had different platforms in different places, that these platforms were progressive, while the Government had only one line of policy fostering monopolies—and stuck there. [Cheers.]

Calls were made for Mr. Curtis, with a few marks of disapprobation thrown in. Mr. Curtis made his way to the platform, and said he was sorry that, on his name being mentioned, disrespect had been shown. Before election day he hoped to address the electors, when he would lay down his own, and not Mr.

Davie's, platform. Continuing, he thought Mr. Brown had endeavored to do right, but, if he had taken a more moderate course, it would have been better for the interests of the city. [Cries of "No; no!" and hisses.] If elected, he would follow a moderate course and hoped to do something for himself as well as for the people. [Laughter.] He meant that, by helping his own interests, he would benefit the whole city. [Laughter and applause.]

Dr. Cooper called for cheers for the Queen, which were heartily given, and the meeting dissolved.

The address presented to Mr. Brown is written on parchment in Tudor black

letter text, with the first line and initials handsomely illuminated in color and metals. There is a Gothic scroll extending around the first initial and down the side. The work of engrossment was executed by Mr. James Bloomfield, engraver, of this city, who is an expert at the art, and this masterpiece will be an enduring evidence of his superior skill. The document is enclosed in a handsome Russia leather case with gold tooling on the front, lined with pale blue silk, the line of junction of silk and leather being hidden by heavy silk twisted cord, and the case tying with antique green silk ribbons.



